

NATION-BUILDING.*

It is often said of India, as formerly of Italy that "India is only a geographical expression;" yet Italy, that never was a "nation" even in the days of Imperial Rome, has become one during living memory, and the Indian children may live to see a United India, an Indian nation, ere their eyes, now lustrous with youth, become glazed with age. So also of Germany might the same expression have been used, also within living memory; yet Germany has sprung, one nation, from a congeries of separate and often warring States. Why should it be deemed a utopian vision when we speak of, hope for, an Indian nation, and believe that what Italy and Germany have accomplished India also may achieve?

What is necessary for the existence of a nation?
(1) A convenient and defensible area. (2) Pride in a common past. (3) Hope for a common future. Are these things possible in India? If yes, then

*Excerpt from the *Indian Review*, December, 1906.

the work of nation-building is possible, and the means thereto may be considered.

(1) That India possesses this is beyond dispute. India is a vast peninsula, ringed on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth guarded by the mightiest of mountain ranges, which can easily be rendered impregnable. No human hand could build such bastions as the mighty Himalayan peaks, and the passes could be held by good guns and brave men against overwhelming odds. Through these passes have poured invading hosts in the past, but then there was no united nation to hold and guard. Besides, India has never been conquered from outside, she has been conquered by some of her own children, siding with the invader against their brethren. She has been conquered ever by Indian swords.

(2) *Pride is a common past.* Is this possible for India, with her warring races? Has not the past seen continual provincial wars? Has not Maratha warred against Rajput, Punjabi against Sikh, Bengali against Hindustani, Southerner against Northerner? Yes, but what of that? Are these feuds any worse than those of Tuscan against Neapolitan, of Hanoverian against Prussian? All nations in their making are smelted

in the furnace of war, hammered on the anvil of battle. These things go to the making of a nation, and when the idea of nation becomes dominant, then all the heroic deeds wrought on every side by warrior hosts become the common pride of the united peoples who form the single nation. How this pride may be aroused is one of the means to which we shall presently come. But have not the vast majority, the Hindus, a pre-eminent claim to be considered the true owners of the land, the real Indians, and should the invaders of the past be welded into the nation of the future? Why not? Did not the Normans conquer the Saxons? Were not the Burgundians and the Gascons ever warring against the centre and the north of France? The Muhammadans have written many chapters of Indian history, have absorbed into their community many millions of Hindus, are fast rooted in Indian soil, and are now Indians, whether they trace back to Mughal, to Afghan, to Turk, or what not. Of such diverse elements are nations compounded, to their own great advantage. As Tennyson sang of the English nation ;

Saxon and Norman and Dane are we.

And so shall some further poet sing of the
Indian Nation :—

Hindu and Muslim and Parsi are we,
But all of us one in our worship of Thee,
Our mother.

For is not India the mother of all, and in the
nation there are no step-children.

But what of the various religions, and the bitter memories of persecutions? Once more, is India alone in this respect? The lines of religious differences in Europe are not identical with those of nationalities. Mary burned Protestants, Elizabeth and Cromwell slew Roman Catholics, Louis exiled and slaughtered Huguenots, Alva massacred and tortured Lutherans and Calvinists, Calvinists murdered free-thinkers, and so on *ad infinitum*. And now all have settled down side by side as good citizens, and when a national peril threatens, Roman Catholics and Anglicans, Protestants of innumerable sects, Methodists and Congregationalists and the rest, spring up as one body in each nation and cry · “I am an Englishman”! “I am a German”! “I am a Frenchman”! “I am an Italian”! Is it too much to hope for the dawning of a day when Hindu and Musalman and Christian and Parsi shall spring up

as one body, and cry, "I am an Indian"! The means thereto we must consider.

(3) *Hope for a common future.* This hope is to be inspired in all Indian hearts by patriotic writers and speakers, who shall limn in glowing colours the picture of the Motherland ignoring divisions save as varieties that make for richness and beauty. The nation must be an ideal before it can become an actuality, and this brings us to the means, the actual Nation-Building.

First of all, the Ideal must be preached everywhere. This is the lesson we learn from history. Italian writers wrote of Italy when there was no Italy; Italian poets sang of her; Italy as Ideal was pictured, chanted, until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as Motherland; then and then only were born Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour: Mazzini, the Idealist, wrote his words of fire; Garibaldi, the Warrior, drew his sword and battled; Cavour, the Statesman, built the Italian polity. Italy was born. She came from the world of Ideas into the world of Acts.

So with Germany. Through dreary years of wars and religious struggles; through repression and tyranny; through jealousies and hatreds; through all that made for divisions, her writers

and her poets proclaimed the German Fatherland. From the world of Ideas, Germany called to Germans, and her voice rang through the world of souls awaiting birth, and William I and Bismarck and Moltke answered, and Germany descended into the world of Acts.

So must it be with India. The Ideal of India, the Motherland, must everywhere be preached, for thinkers shape the Ideal, orators popularise it, and this Ideal must live in myriads of hearts ere statesman can actualise it in this mortal world. And none must hesitate to do this, because some may speak or act unwisely on the same lines. The "Moderates" often fear to act because the "Extremists" are violent and bring discredit on their common cause. At the same time they lend it impetus which otherwise were lacking. Moreover, this occurs in every movement, and the follies are forgotten, while the end is gained. In the fierce excitement of contest, excesses always occur, *and on both sides*. Because in some hot and not always wise actions, the cry of *Bande Mata-rum* has been raised, and hence by equal extremists on the other side has been branded as "seditious," ought the worship of the Motherland and the proclamation of the worship to be

therefore banned by those who have steadfastly served her before the passing excitement began? It is much that the Idea of the Motherland is being echoed back from Indian hearts; that will remain when the temporary heat has cooled down. The gods, in working out their plans, use many agencies—the vices of men as well as their virtues, their angry passions as well as their selfless aspirations. Let those who are wise co-operate with the plan in all wise ways, and admire the deeper and diviner wisdom which can turn even evil things to good ends.

Next, the common past must be shewn forth and dwelt upon. Here education must be called upon to help us. History must be taught in every school in a new way. The Histories of India now used are dry-as-dust wearinesses; they might be designed to make boys look on India with indifference, even with contempt, though it is certain that their writers had no such design, but were merely unsympathetic and uninterested. Indians must write the History of India; the historians who write for boys should be patriots, pulsing with love and pride in the splendid story of India's past. Our school histories should be alive, not dead; full of stories of heroism of Indians of all

parties, all religions, all races. Boys and girls of different religions should be taught to look with equal pride on Prithviraj, and Pratap, Sanga, and Akbar, and Guru Nanak, and Man Singh, and Shivaji, and Chand Bibi, and Ahalya Bai. Makers of India were they, and hundreds more, and every Indian heart should cherish them all, and be proud of them all, and glory in them all as India's children. Let history be thus taught in our schools, and we shall breed patriots therein.

But does not the advocacy of denominational colleges and schools tend to divide Indians rather than to unite? I think not, though I recognise the danger, if fanaticism and not tolerance hold the helm of such institutions. To me the ideal plan would be to have a college or school open to all religions; a common daily opening service of praise of the One—there is no second—and an hour set apart twice a week for definite religious instruction, in which the boys of each faith should be gathered together into groups, each group to be instructed during "the religious hour" in the doctrines of his own faith, while in all other studies boys of every faith should mix together. Each faith should also have its own boarding house. But that would be a Theosophical College.

Next best is it to have denominational colleges and schools, for the teaching of religion and morality to boys is vital. To disregard such teaching is to commit national suicide. Patriotism has ever been one of the fair flowers of religion, and if with religion is taught tolerance, if the brotherhood of creeds is steadily inculcated, those who attend denominational institutions grow up at once religious and broad-minded. As I was writing this article, a young Muhammadan friend came in, and in the course of conversation he remarked that the Central Hindu College boys showed much more friendliness to Muhammadans than did those of Queen's College, where all study together but where no religion is taught. The fact is that our boys, while regularly taught Hinduism, are taught its splendid tolerance along with its doctrines, and are accustomed to hear the fact of India's unity more emphasised than the fact of her various religions and races. To them the glowing Ideal of the Motherland is an ever-present reality, and in that glow all creeds are fused into one country, and are only seen as different colours in the rainbow arch of love. Nowhere more than in the Hindu College—as I know by my own experience of Indian crowds—

is there a more warmly passionate response to India as a nation than from our Hindu students. With them patriotism is a passion, the atmosphere they breathe, the blood that circulates in them, and patriotism embraces every Indian, and knows no differences of creeds

To this end also it should be taught that religion in its spiritual essence is one and indivisible, and that the various religions are merely the intellectual representations of one basic truth. In the one universal spiritual religion the various religions are simply sects and bear the same relation to it as Vaishnavas and Shaivas bear to Hinduism, Shias and Sunnis to Muhammadanism, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics and Protestants to Christianity. The one basic spiritual truth is the Oneness of God, the Supreme Life, and the derivation of all lives from that one Life—there is none other. All other doctrines are intellectual attempts to represent the facts of the universe, of these derived lives in their relation to the One. As intellects differ, so must the formulation of these facts differ; but when religion and religions are thus seen, religions will cease to divide in any mischievous sense

• Subsidiary to these two chief means—the con-

stant insistence on the Ideal of the Motherland, and the education of the young on lines which make the past a common heritage and the various religions a spiritual unity, must come other contributory means. College students should be encouraged to study and debate social, economic, municipal and national questions; it should be pointed out to them that the best field for training themselves to deal with national politics is to be found in municipal politics, and that the man who knows nothing practically of the administration of the smaller area is not fit to deal with the larger. The Municipal Board is the training-ground for the National Assembly. Visionaries are useful in the shaping of ideals; practical men are needed for the administration of affairs. Chamberlain trained himself for Parliament and the Cabinet in the Birmingham Municipality, and Englishmen have been a self-governing nation by becoming self-governors in municipalities, boards, and the local administration of justice.

Students should also be trained in the management of their own clubs and associations, athletic, debating and other. In all these things professors and teachers should help, not control. The lads will make mistakes, and learn by them,

and thus develop ability to deal with worldly affairs.

To promote free intercommunication among the peoples of the various provinces, a common language, and above all a common script, should be popularised. The northern vernaculars can already be read with fair facility by anyone who knows one of them well, if written in a common script, so alike are they. This script should obviously be Devanagari, since the Urdu script is Persian and the Roman is European. Hence, in every school, the Devanagari script should be taught. In the south also it may be accepted, since the vast majority there are Hindus, who ought already to know it as Sanskrit. If all vernacular books were printed in Devanagari, a great step forward would be made. Further, Hindi should be made a second language everywhere, the common vernacular. It is too much to ask the Bengali, the Maratha, the Tamil and the Telugu to give up their rich literatures; the sacrifice would impoverish the nation. It is not too much to ask them to learn Hindi as a second language for the sake of the national unity. If this is not done, English will become the national language, for it is the only language in which

educated men of all vernaculars can converse. Vital to Indian nationality is a common language. All Indian Muhammadans talk Urdu, and Urdu is only Hindi with some Persian additions. The Hindi-knowing man can talk with the Urdu-knowing man, but neither can talk with the Tamil or Telugu-knowing man. As all Indian Muhammadans learn Urdu, why cannot all Indian Hindus learn Hindi?

The question of physical health and strength must be carefully attended to. Indian bodies are losing vitality under the stress of modern conditions and competing civilisations. How many "English-educated" men are thoroughly sound and robust at forty years of age? The old rule of Brahmacharya, celibacy, during student-life must be revived and enforced; boy and girl parentage must be branded as irreligious and unpatriotic by public opinion; mothers must be taught that it is cruel to pamper their sons with highly seasoned and stimulating dishes, and especially with meats, thus forcing on the boy a premature struggle with his budding sexuality and handicapping him in the inevitable combats of early manhood. Physical training must be insisted on; not merely the fashionable and costly English games, but

the wisely designed indigenous exercises, the Indian *jiu-jutsu*, which trains every muscle of the body, not only the arms, and legs, and eyes. Drilling should be universal; there are plenty of retired non-commissioned officers available, who are glad to take up this work, and thus add to their small pensions. Wrestling *latri* (a form of single stick), flag-drill, should all have their place. No student should leave college without knowing how to use his body to defend his body; a nation cannot be built out of weaklings.

Such are some of the ways, it seems to me, in which a nation may be built—nay, *is building*. Strength of body and of mind, noble character, wide and gracious piety, these are the things necessary for the good citizen, and without good citizens there is no nation possible. Such citizens citizens of a United India, will be citizens also of the world-wide Empire, which cannot exist save as a federation of free nations. Past are the World-Empires that were built by the sword, for they have perished by the sword; swords are not good tools for building though they prepare the materials. The World-Empire now shaping must have as its contents free and self-governing na-

tions, knit in bonds of love and based on justice and mutual respect.

Of those nations India will be one, and for that great part she must fit herself by building herself into a nation. That is her immediate task, and may He who lives in all, whether we name Him Mahadeva, Vishnu, Allah, Hormazd, Jehovah, God, so make His unity felt in the midst of all differences that the many peoples of India may become One Nation.

THE INDIAN NATION.*

AT the Anniversary Meeting of the C. H. C. Boarder's Debating Club, papers were read on "The National Bond of Union among Hindus," and the meeting was closed by Mrs. Besant, who, after congratulating the Club on the progress made during the year, said :

Debating clubs among boys are very useful, not only as affording pleasant meeting and interesting discussions, but also as serving for training-grounds for developing the knowledge and the qualities that are needed in public life. The discipline of mind and manners in such a club prepares the young debater for future service to his country, and accustoms him to the conditions under which much of the public work is carried on. The rules which guide business meetings everywhere should be strictly followed in a Debating Club, and should be regarded as aids to useful and expeditious discharge of business, and not as burdensome restrictions. To speak briefly,

* An address delivered to the, Central Hindu College Boarders' Debating Club, 1906.

effectively, and to the point, to listen to an opponent's speech with patience and to reply with courtesy, are lessons learned in the Club. Looking forward for a few years, you will see yourselves called on to help in administrative work, in Municipal and District Boards, and other public bodies. There you will utilise the training you are now passing through, and a man who knows what he wants to say, who can put his views clearly and briefly, who can argue with courtesy, and who abides by the rules of discussion, is one who becomes, in all such bodies, a man of weight and usefulness. You should place before you such active partaking in public life as an honorable and legitimate object of ambition, for the happiness, prosperity and health of the community depend far more on good local administration than on big so-called political measures. The true patriot can do far more for India in these local bodies, than he can in the field of "big politics," and this work is political in the old good sense of the term; it is the politics of the community, and has far more bearing on the happiness of the community than the international relations discussed by statesmen. A people can prosper

under a very bad government and suffer under a very good one, if in the first case the local administration is effective and in the second it is inefficient. Moreover, if a man wants to take a share in the chatter of Parliaments and the babel of party politics, he will be more useful and less mischievous if thoroughly well trained in local administration. Mr. Chamberlain was a Councillor and a Mayor of Birmingham before he became a Cabinet Minister; and Englishmen gain their knowledge of public business and their power of self-government by serving as honorary magistrates and local councillors, by working on vestries, on municipalities, on boards of all kinds. Here is a line of public activity for you as patriots, in which your love of country can find legitimate and useful vent, in which you can devote your best energies to the public good.

Moreover in this, and in other college and school business, you have to learn both liberty and responsibility; you elect officers, you make rules, you carry on your business. Now the sense of liberty is strong among you, and that is well. The sense of responsibility is weak, and that is not so well. The exercise of liberty and the feeling of responsibility must grow side by side, if

your little community is to be prosperous and well-organised. You must learn to use your best thought in giving your votes, to be moved by principles not by passions. Free men who act recklessly and without a sense of responsibility destroy nations, they do not build them. You must learn tolerance, and understand that truth is many-sided, and is never all with one man or one party. A man is fortunate if he sees one aspect of truth, and doubly fortunate if, through his opponents, he can catch glimpses of other aspects. In your debates and in your studies, when you read of other religions and other customs, never condemn hastily, or denounce views you do not share. Quick condemnation of all that is not ours, of views with which we disagree, of ideas that do not attract us, is the sign of a narrow mind and of an uncultivated intelligence. Bigotry is always ignorant, and the wise boy, who will become the wise man, tries to understand and to see the truth in ideas with which he does not agree.

We have listened to two thoughtful papers on the bonds which should unite Hindus. The writer of one speaks of Hindus as part of a nation; the other considers more the bonds which unite

Smṛiti, the Puranas, the Itihāsas, the Philosophies and their Commentaries, and the Dramas. The vast and splendid literature is the common heritage of all Hindus, of all sects, of all schools, and it forms one of the strongest bonds of union in the Hindu community.

A common Religion, a common Language, a common Literature, such are the bonds of union among Hindus as Hindus

And now what of Hindus as part of a people, what of the Indian Nation?

The Indian Nation of the future must combine into one coherent and organised body, men of various faiths and men of various races, who in the past have been bitter enemies, and have striven against each other for many generations. Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, to say nothing of such well-marked inter-Hindu creeds as Jains and Sikhs, have to be welded into a Nation, and this, not by mergence of all the varying beliefs into one, which is impossible but by the theosophical recognition of the spiritual, unity of all religions, and the broad-minded tolerance and mutual respect which grow out of this recognition. The warring races have to be

welded into a nation by turning the memories of strife into memories of common pride.

A common Religion is not possible for India but a recognition of a common basis for all religions, and the growth of a liberal, tolerant spirit in religious matters, are possible. It is this liberal tolerant spirit which makes nationality possible in western countries. Christianity is divided into many more sects than is Hinduism, in addition to the deep lines of cleavage which divided Catholics from Protestants. But these do not interfere with patriotism. In England, France and Germany large numbers of men are unbelievers, but they are none the less good patriots. The bitter religious antagonisms of Italy have not prevented the building of United Italy. Nor need religious differences in India check the building of an Indian nation, if men of all creeds will sink their religious hatreds, and recognise that the God they all worship is the God of humanity, and not a tribal or national deity.

But while a common religion is impossible common Languages and a common Literature are possible. For the Muhammadan, Arabic will take the place of Sanskrit, but English is as necessary to him as to the Hindu, and Hindi is his Urdu,

stripped of Persian derivatives and written in a different script. In literature he can as heartily enjoy Hindu masterpieces as the Hindu can delight in those born of Islam. Both belong to the Indian nation, and form its common Literature.

Geography has a determining influence on nationality, for true nations cannot co-exist on the same soil. A nation must have its national territory, and we cannot have a Hindu nation, a Mussalman nation, in India, we must have one Indian nation from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Bengal to Kathiawar. Now such a nation has never yet existed, and "India" always has been, and still is, a mere geographical expression. Old India was divided into many States, large and small, and though occasionally, in ancient days, an Emperor would be recognised and all the Kings became his feudatories, such an Emperor ruled by force of his own great personality, and no one Empire endured, and passed from ruler to ruler for generations. Hence India is yet to be made a living reality, an organised entity, and you, the students of to-day with tens of thousands of your like throughout the land, you are to be the builders of India, and from your hands she will emerge—a Nation. Let us look around, and take lessons

in Nation-building, and then you will see that turning Indian communities and races into a Nation is by no means an impossible thing.

There are three European nations that may help us—the British, the German, the Italian, and the German most of all. Look at Great Britain. Her people are Kelts, Saxons, Danes, Normans, and their ancestors warred and slaughtered each other for long centuries. Scotland and England were hereditary foes and a deep river of blood divided them more than the river Tweed. They were united under one Crown just three hundred years ago, after sixteen hundred years of warfare, yet to-day Englishmen are as proud of Bruce and of Wallace as are Scotemen, and Scotemen are as proud of Chaucer and Shakespeare as are Englishmen, and both are equally lovers of Britain. Ireland is not yet fused into the nation, for the grass is green over Emmett's grave for only a century, and race and religion still divide. There the nation still is building, is not yet built.

Italy has swiftly grown into a nation, largely because of the magic of the great name of Rome and her old-world rule ; she has become a nation during the lifetime of many of us, and one of the memories of my childhood is the heroic figure of

Garibaldi amid the surging cheering crowds of London folk.

Germany has been made into a nation before our very eyes, and is full of stirring national life and intense patriotic feeling, and Germany is specially instructive for us, because there we see two religions, one in name but bitterly antagonistic in fact, facing each other, the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran, separated by memories of axe and fire, of cruelties more terrible, and as recent, as the memories of hatred between Hindus and Mussalmans here. Yet now both Lutheran and Roman Catholic are brother-citizens of the Empire, and are Germans above all. The German Nation is a fact, and it was born before our eyes.

How did Italy, how did Germany, become Nations? By Sentiment. They may strike you as strange, and yet not strange if you remember that Thought is the one creative power. There was no Italy. There was no Germany. But poets sang of the Fatherland, authors wrote of the Fatherland, and at last they sang the Nation into birth, they sang the Dream into the Fact.

How shall the Indian Nation be born? By Sentiment also. A Feeling is beginning to pervade her races that India is the Motherland, and the

Indian Nation is already a Dream, an Ideal. She exists already in the World of Ideas, she will pass, she is passing, into the world of Discussion; and thence she will be born into the world of Facts. This is the Law. This is the Path. First, the Idea, then the Popularisation, then the Fact.

How shall we smooth the path for her coming feet? We must make the history of India a common history, looking on all her great men as a common glory, on all her heroes as a common heritage. Hindus must learn to be proud of Akbar, Musalmans of Shivaji. The history must lose its bitterness, as of foe against foe, and become the story of the common Motherland in the making, all parties contributing to the enrichment, and sharing in the results. The sense of having been conquered in a battle must pass and the battle be regarded merely as an event that went to the shaping of the Nation. Courage, vigour, strength virility, these are sweet fruits of war, grievous and terrible is the sowing; and these remain alike to conquerors and conquered, when once the sense of personal triumph has faded out of the one, and that of personal loss out of the other. Ours the task so as to teach history as to show the use of the struggles to India, as to eradicate


proud and injured feelings. Thus shall separate-ness and hatred pass, and patriotism and love grow up. As boys struggle hard in a match, one side against the other, and afterwards forget the struggle and the bruises received, and use the strength and skill thus obtained in the team which represents the whole College, so must Indians forget the antagonisms of the war games of the past, and let the wounds be only honourable scars, while they use their strength and skill for the Nation.

It may be said. But if this be so, why not educate together the boys of different faiths, why have a Hindu College at Benares, a Muslim College at Aligarh? Because such separate education is the best for building a religious and moral character, and such characters, once moulded, will live together in peace and mutual respect in manhood. During the plastic years of boyhood it is best to mould and shape the character after its own type, to make the Musalman boy a good Musalman, the Hindu boy a good Hindu. When they are firm in their respective religions they can mix together as men, and gain, not lose by the contact. Only they must be taught a broad and liberal tolerance, as well as an *enlightened* love

for their own religion, so that each may remain Hindu or Musalman, but both be Indians. Just as stones are shaped and fitted, and then built into their respective places in an edifice, so must these boys be shaped and fitted by their several religions to be built into the Indian Nation.

Let us then hold up as an Ideal the Indian Motherland, the Indian Nation, let us popularise the Idea, till the heart of each province throb in unison, then let her descend into the world of Facts, let the Indian Nation be born.

Education as the Basis of National Life.*

HAT is the ideal for a nation? It must have spirituality, expressed in many-graded religions, suitable for every class in the nation and if, as here, there are several religions, they must be friends, not rivals, acknowledging their common origin, divine wisdom, and their common aim, the uplifting of the nation. It must have certain moral virtues of a virile kind as well as of the tenderer types. It must have intellect, directed and trained to meet the multifarious needs of a nation—literary, artistic, scientific, political, agricultural, manufacturing, industrial, commercial, engineering, etc. It must have healthy conditions of life, a robust and vigorous manhood, a strong and refined womanhood. These are the things which make up the ideal, education is to bring them to realization.

I will not dwell now on the necessity for religious education, as that is dealt with in a separate lecture. I will only point you to the peculiar

* From a lecture delivered at Adyar, 1908.

form of lawlessness and uncouthness, for which a new term, hooliganism, has had to be invented in some of the British Colonies, where religion has been omitted from the educational curriculum. Masses of young men and young women are growing up to be a public danger rather than a public support, with no sense of public duty or public responsibility, rowdy and lawless, social pests. The growth of such a class, unchecked, is the symbol of national disorganisation. People who call themselves free, but who are the slaves of ignorance and passion, are no materials for a nation. Or look at France, with its lowering of the standard of public life, with its materialist literature and art, miscalled naturalist, and remember that she was once the most idealistic of nations, the most easily set on fire by ideas. Or see how, in the United States, the best people are standing away from the political life of the nation, regarding it as so corrupt that it will soil their honor if they mingle in it. Or note how, in India, public spirit and patriotism are reviving only with the reviving of religion.

Let us see what virtues are needed specially in national life ; for education must culture these.

First: a sense of national unity. At present,

province is divided from province by feelings of jealousy and distrust. Cries of provincial hatred drown those of national welfare. It is the duty of the educationist to aim at the extirpation of these feelings, which make nationality impossible. There is a duty, certainly, to the home, to town, the province; but these duties must lead up to, not destroy, duty to the nation. So it is eminently desirable to draw together, as far as possible, boys of different provinces, that they may live side by side, and learn to love and co-operate with each other. Divisions and hatreds grow out of ignorance, and suspicions flourish in the atmosphere of separation. Even when boys from different provinces cannot be drawn together in school and college hostels, books may be used breathing the feeling of Indian unity. Books must be written on Indian lines, to inspire the boy-readers with pride in a common past, making them regard all the heroes of the past as a common possession, as the masters of India.

The want of a common vernacular is one of our chief difficulties. How are the Bangla and up-country boys to feel that they belong to one country when they cannot understand each other's mother-tongue? While we have not a common

vernacular, a common script would be a step in the right direction, for most of the vernaculars are allied and Bangla in Devanagiri is fairly intelligible to the Hindustani. Out of this sense of national unity will grow the emotion of patriotism, the virtue of public spirit, on these I have fully spoken and need not enlarge now. (See Lecture No. 1)

The next great virtue necessary for a national life is discipline, and school and college must instil this constantly. Do not confuse discipline with punishment. Discipline is sometimes enforced by punishment, but in a well-ordered institution it is maintained by public opinion and the spirit of self-respect. Forcibly imposed order is not the order of freedom; self-imposed order is the life-breath of liberty. The basis of national life is, order, law, and where internal peace is not present stability of national life is impossible. In school and college the young impetuous creature, full of life and energy, learns, with the help of his superiors, to bring his powers under control, so that in the future they may work for good, and not for harm. Undisciplined strength is like steam which, having no proper channels along which it can flow and be turned to produce useful

work, causes explosion in the vessel that contains it, and brings ruin and destruction all around. Disciplined strength, in boys or men, is a force for good. A few disciplined people can conquer a mass of undisciplined ones, although a thousand times the strength may be on the side of the undisciplined and there be only a minority of the disciplined. Every student of history, every patriot knows that in the disciplining of the nation lies the question of its success or failure. Hence every true patriot, every public spirited man, in countries where the duties of citizenship are understood, sets an example of self-discipline, in order that he may guide the hasty as well as the thoughtful into useful lines. So strongly is that felt in a country like England, where for many generations the traditions of liberty have been handed down from father to son, that the future Emperor of the Empire, the young son of the present Prince of Wales, the grandson of the King, is one of the most strictly disciplined boys in the whole of the British islands. He is now under the strict discipline of a training-ship, subject to all its rules, ever ready to obey his Captain's orders. Rules are rigid in the sailor's training, for the lives of thousands of people are

independent on obedience to the captain. There are sometimes between two or three thousand people in a big ship, and the lives of these people depend on the perfect discipline of the crew and the officers. Disobedience means the perishing of that great number of passengers and crew, and for this reason naval discipline is the strictest discipline in the world. Now, into that strict naval discipline is plunged the young prince, the future overlord of the Empire, and it is not relaxed for him. This young boy not yet accustomed to naval ways, heard that his father was on board, and ran away to greet him without permission from his superior officer, but he was promptly sent back to his duty. The natural impulse of the boy's heart to run to greet his father had to be checked that he might learn that discipline came first and affection afterwards. So, that boy was sent back, prince as he is, and king as he will be, please God, because unless he learns discipline while he is a boy, he will never be fit to wear the Imperial Crown, to command great masses of people who will look to him as Ruler.

Discipline is one thing that all boys must learn, and especially now when there is stirring a new life through the land. If, in the future India,

boys who are now in school and college are to grow up to be citizens, fit to be trusted with the destiny of a mighty nation, they must learn self-control, obedience and discipline in school and college days. And in this not only the class-room is a teacher; the play-ground is often a better teacher of discipline than the class-room, for it is in the play-ground that the boys have to learn to obey their chosen leaders, and to rely on their own efforts for healthy co-operation in scoring victory in the games. Let me give you an example to show you exactly what I mean as to the value of that kind of teaching. Our boys in the Central Hindu School and College elect their own captains through their Athletic Association. They had elected a boy who really was a very good captain but who was rather strict. He tried to do his duty without favoring one or the other, and some boys did not like him and they came to me to complain, and they said that he was very strict and was not a good captain. "We want you to interfere." My question was "Didnt you elect him?" "Yes," they said, "we elected him, but we don't like him now." Then I said; "If you do not think he is a good captain, you need not re-elect him, but as you have elected him, you

are bound to obey him till his term is out ; am I to cancel or overrule your own election ? Am I to interfere between the man elected and the men who elected him ? If so, you have not begun to learn the first duties of electors, and you are lacking in the instinct of the citizen." Discipline and co-operation are learnt in the playground. The boy who plays for his own hand and not for his side, the boy who is careless whether he helps his side or not, that boy will grow into a bad citizen, and you need not look for any good results for the nation from him. This is where quality comes out, and shows the real nature. If you have a boy of that sort in school, try to make him realise the mistake he is making, not in the game of the moment only, but in the preparation for the great game of life. So also the boy who plays well and honourably, with a love for his side and indifference to himself, that is the boy who will presently be a leader in the nation, and know how to guide his fellow-men, and to show them the way to success.

Another virtue taught in games is of enormous importance—perseverance and endurance. The boy learns the game to take a kick or a blow without bad feeling and to go on in spite of it.

Let me take again an example to show what I mean, from our own college. I was down the other day to see a game of hockey between a team of our own boys and a police team. Now our team was not even at its best, for it was deprived of two of its strongest players. The police team was a team of men as against one of boys. In fact, one of the funniest things in the whole game was to see the English Deputy Superintendent of Police, a very tall man, playing opposite a very short Nepalese boy, each trying to get the ball off Men were against boys, a first class team against a weak team. Our boys never had a single chance from the beginning. They were forced from one end of the field to the other, not one goal did the boys get and the police got some 17. but those boys played undauntedly to the last stroke, until the whistle sounded for stopping, without one chance for them courage. They fought a losing battle to the last stroke, without flagging or losing temper. They came off very sad, and said to me "We have come down to business our shame." "No," was my answer; "you are not a disgrace to the college; you have shown that you can play a losing game without losing temper or courage or heart. I wish to see you a thousand

times defeated by stronger men, rather than you should win against weak ones, because that means success in the future for which your game is a training." The courage which plays a losing game without fear is the courage that makes a nation when the boys have grown into men. That is the way you have to look on the sports of the play ground, as the training ground for the citizens of the future. So in every school and college, train your boys to play, to play creditably and honourably, careless whether they win or lose, provided that they play well. When you have done that, you have built up a great part of the citizen, and you have made much of the basis of your national life of the future.

These are what I mean by virile virtues; the sense of national unity, patriotism and public spirit, discipline, based on self-control and supported by public opinion, co-operation, perseverance, endurance, courage. When boys learn these virtues during school and college life, they will be ready for the life of the future. Nations composed of such citizens win freedom because they are worthy of it.

The play-ground has another important function in education; it builds up physical strength,

strength of muscle and nerve. The chief danger for India is that of physical decay. There is a lack of physical vitality in the English-educated class. There is no difficulty about brains, you have enough and to spare. There is no difficulty about keenness and subtlety of intellect, that is born in you. But your bodies, there is the weak point of the nation of the future. The bodies of English educated Indians are old before they ought to be middle-aged, their nervous systems are not what they should be on account of the strain put upon the boys before they are grown into full manhood. Games and athletics do much to counterbalance over-absorption in study. But the boy's worst enemy is the early fatherhood imposed on him. Every lover of this country should try to revive the ancient custom of *Brahmacharya*, which was the duty of the student in olden days, and no student should be allowed to marry until his education is entirely completed. Until education is over, no boy should enter into the *ashrama* of the *grahastha*. That is the best physical wisdom. That is the custom which wise men should revive for building up a strong nation in days to come. You cannot have a strong nation with feeble bodies, you cannot have a

nation without strength in your own bodies to bear the burdens of citizenship. You must relieve your boys from the household burden which presses upon them while they are still students. Let the students study, and let men be husbands and fathers, but do not spoil both parts of life by intertwining one of them with the other. That is a reform that leaders amongst you must bring about, and teachers should lay stress upon it, so far as they possibly can. They could forbid marriage at least in the school classes and gradually raise the marriage age by working on public opinion. It is already changing all over the country. In caste conferences, and in other places where men meet together, you hear a cry being raised against these early marriages, destructive of national vitality. Strengthen that cry with all your power, and do not only vote for it in caste conferences, but carry it out in the life of the household. I hardly ever meet an Indian who argues with me against that view; all quite agree. But when I ask about his children, I gather almost invariably that they were all married while quite children. That is not the way in which a nation can be made. That is not the way in which principles should be

carried out. Sacrifice alone makes nations, you must sacrifice for the sake of principles. It is difficult, and it will be difficult, to delay parentage till you educate your wives and daughters, and do not leave them ignorant of the most vital questions of health for the young ones whom they bring into the world. I know that until you do that you cannot always carry in the home these points of difficulty. You cannot carry out the reform completely at once, but you can gradually raise the age little by little until, some years hence, the ideal age for parentage will have been reached.

Let us pass now from the moral and the physical sides of education, to what may be called the principles of the intellectual curriculum in our schools and colleges. First of all, India should take the first place and not the second, third or fourth. Indian history, Indian philosophy, Indian medicine, Indian art, Indian industry, her natural resources, her commerce, her possibilities, all these things should be brought forward and made part of every scheme of national education. Now the other day when I was discussing the question of a National University, a University for India, I was asked - "What are the specific points which make you want an Indian University; why

not have colleges, and send up your boys to the Government Universities, where they can take their degrees, what is the need for having a University with a charter, able to grant degrees; what will be the use from your standpoint to the Indian people?" My answer was "There are three chief points; first that no college should be affiliated by such a University that does not recognise religion and morals as an integral part of education. I do not mean any one particular religion the University must recognise all the great religions that have Indians as their children whether Hindu or Musalman, whether Parsi or Christian, whether Hebrew or Buddhist, the son should be trained in the father's faith. One religion cannot be put above another when you are dealing with India as a nation. India as a nation must include every religion which is found within her borders with devoted and loyal adherents. You may have your Aligarh College for Musalmans, you may have your Central Hindu College for Hindus; you may have a Parsi College for Zoroastrians; but all these should be affiliated to the National University. No dividing lines should separate Indian from Indian, Musalman from Hindu. They are all Indians, and one-

nation must be built up out of the many creeds. This is one of the specific reasons why we want an Indian University.

The second point is that Indians shall control the curriculum and suit it to the nation's needs, and the third that India shall (as just said) take the first place. Let us see just what is meant by this phrase. It does not mean that western thought is to be excluded, but that it shall be subsidiary, not dominant. If you need gold, you can take it from anywhere, from any nation where a gold mine is found, or a river runs seaward over golden sands, but when you bring it as bullion to India, you take it to your own mint, and stamp it with your own die. It becomes Indian money, let the gold have come whence it may. In borrowing anything from abroad borrow its good but assimilate it, make it your own, and keep your thought predominantly Indian. Take philosophy. India has a finer philosophy than any other in the world. Why then, in University examinations, is most stress laid on western philosophy and so little on the Indian? By all means learn western philosophy, and become acquainted with western methods. It is all good to know. But in your own schools and

colleges give your own philosophy and its methods the first place, and that of the other nations the second place, and then you will keep your distinctive nationality while utilising all that other nations can teach. Let us come to science. I constantly take up scientific books in Indian schools, but I find that in these books nearly all the illustrative examples are foreign and not Indian. All these books need to be re-written from the Indian standpoint, utilising Indian animals, Indian plants, Indian trees and minerals as the examples by which the boys will learn, thus bringing scientific training into touch with the daily life of their own country. You want science, the same in principles but with Indian illustrations, that shall make your boys understand them, while only foreign and unfamiliar examples are given. So with history. Now I do not mean that in your own schools and colleges only Indian history should be taught. That would be a great mistake. But what I do mean is that Indian history should be taught first and that Indian history should not be taught by rote out of dry manuals written sometimes by Englishmen who care neither for the traditions of the land nor for its future elevation, but a history written with the glowing passion of Indian patriot

who shall tell the story to the boys with pride, and thus inspire hopes of the future. This is not the work of one party, but is a mission of all parties. You had many a war in the past, many a war between Hindu and Musalman, between Bangla and Mahratta, between all the various provinces into which this great peninsula is divided. These wars are to be known, not to strengthen social prejudice, not to make the students lean to one side and be divorced from the other, not to use hard words for the warrior of one party and soft words for the warrior of the other, but to take them all as builders of India. Every one of them has contributed something to the Indian stock, some quality, some power, something of value, and out of the whole past struggles the nation of the future will grow up, the richer in power and ability from past quarrels. You should study English history, because it has grown into that of the Empire of which India is a part, and because the movement here for self-government is the direct result of the study of English history, and is inspired by English, not by Indian ideals; you cannot understand the present movement, nor wisely take part in it, unless you understand the history of the English people, its direct parent.

You should also give youths some sketch of contemporary history, the political conditions of other nations, because the more elements they come into touch with, the more many-sided do they become. You should study and help them to study history, because without knowing something of these nations, you cannot know what it is best to do among your own people and in raising your own country. History is the study for the patriot, for the statesman, for the leader of public opinion, and for the builder of a nation. Not only the history of the past but also the history of the present. Very few young men amongst the college student or school-boys know anything about the history of Europe at the present time. Some of them talk about liberty as though they were the only nation where complete liberty is not found, and forget that even in England there are still oppressive laws, and that the abolition of other such laws is very recent. India cannot suddenly jump into a liberty that other nations take centuries to build. It is already enjoying more freedom than exists in most European countries. I wish I could take some of these lads through Europe. In Austria they cannot hold a single meeting of Austrians themselves without per-

mision of the police, even the free-masons—a most harmless and orderly body—are obliged to go beyond the frontier of Austria into another country before they can hold a single meeting. In Hungary we could not form our Theosophical Society until we went to the Home Minister to secure his permission. There are in many respects the same difficulties in Germany and France. In France, a few years ago—I do not know if the law be now different—you could not form a group of more than 20 people. A meeting in a private house may be broken up by the police. Now young men ought to know all these things, before they complain of oppression. Hotel-keepers on the Continent have to report to the police every one who goes to their houses. Often the traveller has to write down various particulars about himself for the police. Think how you would resent such a procedure here, and you will begin to realise that it is the breath of the exceptional English liberty which is in your lungs that makes you intolerant of oppression. It is all *videshi*.

India needs industrial prosperity, and the foundation for that must form part of education. There is a difficulty here that does not exist abroad to the same extent—the looking on manual work as

degrading. But Indian boys must learn that no form of work is dishonorable which is useful to the motherland, and that it is not the kind of work, but the way in which it is done, which makes it either honorable or dishonorable. Any work well done is honorable work if useful to the country, and the country cannot prosper if none of its skilled brains turn to productive work. Some say "I am willing to direct a commercial or industrial undertaking, but I do not care to go through rough drudgery." But the rough drudgery is the preparation for successful direction. How can a man control 300 or 400 workmen if he does not know the details of their work? How can he blame bad work if he cannot say "This is the way in which you should do it"? How can he discriminate between good and bad workmen? The son of an English nobleman, who wishes to be an engineer, is turned into a blacksmith's shop to wield the hammer, to weld the iron. This is how England and Germany have gained their position in the world of industry, for their men can guide great enterprises, having thorough knowledge of the work in which they engage. India needs fewer clerks, fewer, much fewer, lawyers, fewer doctors, and more agriculturalists.

engineers, mineralogists, electricians, chemists. National education should aim at diminishing the supply of the other. Will not some zemindars train their sons in agriculture, so that these trained youths may teach their ryots, may show them better methods of cultivation, may find for them by experiment, when a soil produces a poor crop, whether another crop would not be more suitable, may teach them to improve their stock, and thus raise the total of production? Among the causes of famine I do not find noted the neglect of the ryots by the zemindars, and yet this bulks largely. It is true that the drain from India to England is too great; it is true that the higher posts reserved for Englishmen are overpaid, it is true that payment in coin is more oppressive to the peasant than payment in kind all these things and many others are true. But the neglect of the most docile and industrious peasantry in the world by their immediate rulers, the Indian zemindars, is also true, and patriotic Indians can remedy this *at once*.

An essential part of every school and college should be the debating club or the local parliament. Let boys learn to discuss and debate; let them learn the methods of carrying on public

business. A well-organised college club, in which the young men learn to listen to the arguments of opponents without losing temper, to detect sophistries, to see augmentative flaws, to be alert in answering in attacking, in defending is a splendid nursery for public life. The university debating societies—Unions—in Oxford and Cambridge have been the training grounds of statesmen. Men learn to think, to speak, to debate, they are drilled in patience and good temper and the amenities of public life, and learn to differ as gentlemen, not as boors. The decay in parliamentary manners has been most marked since education has caused to be a *sine qua non* of membership in the House of Commons, and a decay of manners is a sign of national deterioration. For manners mean self-control and self-respect, they mean dignity and pride of honour, they mean due regard for others and consideration for others—the difference between the boor and the gentleman.

So you see that while I am against boy-politics—as I am against boy-labour and boy-parentage—I am not leaving out of account in education the preparation for future political life. I come from a country where politics are part of the ordinary life of the people, but I used not to

see Harrow and Eton boys allowed to crowd political meetings, and bring their lack of knowledge to hinder the political work of men. Politics is a serious matter. It plays with the lives of men, the honor of women, the safety of life and prosperity, the stability of social order, and I am not prepared to commit these great issues to the weak-hand and untrained brains of school-boys and college students. I would rather turn them loose in a laboratory full of chemical explosives than into the whirl of public life, where they may, in mere excitement and folly, cause a riot in which lives may be lost and property destroyed.

O lads that are listening to me here! The future is yours. We are old we are passing away. But you will have in your hands the shaping of India's destiny in the days to come, when she will be a free nation in the mightiest Federation of free nations that the world has ever known. Is it too much to ask you to study, to prepare yourselves for that glorious task to build up characters worthy to serve her, the mighty motherland of the future? You spent years to qualify yourselves to work in the courts, before you claim to plead there. Will you not prepare for the greater service instead of being eager to clamour in the

streets? Train yourselves for service by doing your duty where you are at the moment. Learn self-sacrifice by practising it within the little world of the school or college. And remember that love which does not express itself in service is but a sham.

Let us revert to the point mentioned early in this discourse, that national education must provide for all the children of the nation. Some would do this by admitting all classes equally to every school, by bringing the children of the scavenger to sit beside the children of the cultured and refined. While the hearts of the advocates of this scheme are loving, their heads are surely not quite thoughtful. In language, manners, cleanliness, there is a great gulf between these classes. The gulf may be regrettable—if all evolution is regrettable—but it is there. To throw susceptible imitative children, who have been carefully shielded from evil words and evil ways, into close contact with children brought up in depraved society and accustomed to foul words and foul actions, would be madness. Careful educationists in London, in the working-class schools, separate criminal and undeveloped children from the normal child of manual workers, and

put them into separate schools. What would be thought of the man who should suggest that these unfortunates should be sent to Harrow and Eton? We have to level up, not down; to raise the lower to a higher level, and not degrade the higher to a lower. Centuries of culture must not be thrown away at the demands of a philanthropy run mad. Every class of children must be provided for, but each according to its needs. Let education suited to its capacity be placed within the reach of each child in the nation, and the national duty is complete.

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National Universities for India.*

Permit me to add to our conversation of the other day, the following considerations on the need for, and the fundamental ideas of the Indian University system. As you know I have long advocated the establishment of a national system of education, not in opposition to, but standing apart from the Government and the Christian missionary systems alike. Lord Curzon's University Act with its rigid geographical limitations, its enhancing of the cost of education, its centralisation of all educational control in Government hands and its crushing out of Colleges and Schools which are useful and effective in their respective places, although not fitting the Procrustean bed of the Act—all these and other disadvantages afford the best possible stimulus to the people to provide for themselves the education which they require.

The needs of Indians are among others the development of a National spirit; and education founded on Indian ideals and enriched not dominat-

* Letter addressed to Mr. Hirendranath Dutt.

ed, by the thought and culture of the West; this education on its literary side, should include the teaching of Indian literature as primary and of foreign literature as secondary, the teaching of Indian history as primary and of foreign history as secondary, the teaching of Indian philosophy as primary and of foreign philosophy as secondary; on its scientific side, it should include the science of the West, but should also encourage and teach much of the science, especially in psychology and medicine, of the East, on its technical side it should embrace all the provision for the industrial life of the country—industrial chemistry, agriculture, crafts of every kind, engineering and mineralogy, etc. etc., on its-commercial side, sound training in commercial correspondence, shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, etc, etc. It should establish professorships and fellowships for the encouragement of Sanskrit and of Arabic learning, and should give to these the position held in European Universities by Latin and Greek. It should have its chairs of Theology, Hindu, Mussalman, Parsi, and even Christian, since there are in India a few long established Christian communities.

Universities, based on these ideas, should be

established in India ; to begin with, the limits of the five present Provinces, might be accepted and one University might be formed in one and then another in a second and so on , later if need arise a larger number may be established. These Universities should each have a Senate composed of all its graduates of a certain rank, and a Syndicate for administrative purposes. They should affiliate Colleges, denominational and undenominational. The scale of fees should be moderate and universal; there should be no age limit for Matriculation, each University Examination should represent a definite standard, the same in each University, and students should pass freely from one to another. Great freedom for experiment should be allowed to recognised schools and affiliated colleges, and variety in details with unity in essentials should be sought.

The sending of picked students abroad should be one of the duties of the Universities and these students should be bound to serve under the orders of the University for at least 15 years after their return. Meanwhile the scientific side of the affiliated colleges should be in the hands of foreign professors, except where first class Indians

trained abroad, are available. Japan might possibly be drawn upon in this respect.

This is a very bold outline, but sufficient to show you my purpose. As you know, I am in favour of denominational Colleges, but I would have the Universities Indian, affiliating all without distinction of religions, and thus preparing their graduates and under-graduates for the life of the world, in which men of all faiths should co-operate for public ends.

One thing must not be forgotten—a vigorous propaganda to induce parents and guardians to send their boys to the schools and colleges recognised by and affiliated to the Indian Universities, and to induce Indian Princes, merchants and employers of every kind, to give the preference in employment to the graduates and matriculates of these Indian Universities. No scheme, however perfect which leaves out of sight provision for the future, can succeed. Government service, and, probably the legal profession would at first be closed to the alumni of these Universities, until, by merit they secured recognition. And some attempts must be made to render their livelihood secure. Something would be done by the establishment of the educational

boards that I have been advocating which would control Indian education within each Municipal area, would need a constant supply of teachers and would keep a register of employers seeking employees. I conclude with words printed a year ago, "Side by side with your educational boards you must form a union of Rajahs, merchants and other employers of labour who shall accept in their State offices, manufactories, shops and places of business the youths who have gained certificates. . . Princes are in need of skilled engineers, mineralogists, chemists, surveyors; manufacturers want skilled overseers . . . so with one hand you will build up the education of the people and with the other revive your manufactures and strengthen them by supplying skilled, scientific, trained labour, which is necessary for their successful carrying on" (*Theosophy applied to Human Life*, pp. 81, 82)

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The chief educational want of India is colleges run on national lines and under national control, colleges which, like the Central Hindu College at Benares, should be wholly independent of Government while in no sense hostile to it, which should make it their one duty to train up pious, honourable, brave and cultured Indian gentlemen, loyal to their Motherland, to the Crown and to the Empire.

To fulfil this duty, it is absolutely necessary that the boys should grow up, through their school and college life, in an atmosphere of pure and passionate patriotism, full of pride in their country, full of aspiration for her service. The high spirit of the boys must be trained and disciplined but never broken, love and not fear must be the root of their obedience, and trust not terror must characterize their attitude to their teachers. To ensure this, the teachers must embrace their noble profession as a vocation, rather than as a mere means of livelihood, as a

* A memorandum prepared on behalf of the "Board of National Education" formed by Mrs. Besant in June, 1917.

dedication to the service of the Motherland, rather than as a drudgery from which to escape, as soon as the hours of study are over. They must frequent the playing fields as well as the class-rooms, take part in games as well as in study. They must realise that their work is to train citizens for a free India, not clerks whose value lies in their servility, and whose aim is to become petty tyrants in their turn.

Such a College in each Presidency town and major Province—to be the parent of similar colleges in the mufassal—is necessary for the growth and training of the national life. The present generation of lads is splendid material, but is mostly uncared for out of class hours and unloved by their teachers in the Government and missionary schools. their budding patriotism is treated as sedition, their self-respect as insubordination, their high spirits as rebellion; their national heroes must be worshipped in secret and the national portraits which should hang in their class-rooms must be hidden away in their boxes. We have to train our boys for freedom, and the very qualities, now repressed, are national assets, to be utilised, not eradicated. We need not fear their high spirits, their daring,

their pride, their sensitive dignity; these are the jewels of a free nation, though dreaded by the authorities over a subject people. Our boys must be as free in India, as English boys are free in England.

To this end their bodies must be our special care; study must be subordinate to health. Drill, physical exercises, games, fencing, Indian sword-play, the science of self-defence must all form part of our curriculum, Boy Scouts and cadets must be trained. Englishmen say that Indians must be able to defend their country before they are "fit" for Home Rule. Let us begin to teach our boys their future duty, and turn out the sturdy youths trained and disciplined, ready to form a citizen army.

Needless to say—since it is I who write—that religion and morality based on religion, and character built up by these must be an integral part of our education. Patriotism must be Indian History—before Clive—by national songs and national festivals. Civics must be taught. The Council must outline an Indian Scheme of Education for Indian boys, and, in it it must be remembered that scientific and technical, commercial and industrial training are

the life-blood of National prosperity. Our work will not be to turn out clerks.

While independent of Government aid, our colleges must excel Government colleges in efficiency, but it must be true efficiency in education rather than in educational machinery. A new educational life is spreading over every civilised country except India. Our colleges are to embody that life for India.

It is, therefore, necessary to carry into execution a scheme discussed with friends in the various Provinces for some months past, namely to build up a system of National Education entirely apart from, but not in hostility to, the official system, and to offer as an alternative to the Government and missionary schools, an education which will train Indian students as students in other countries are trained, to look forward to a life honourable to themselves and useful to their country, nourishing in their boyhood and youth a noble ambition to be worthy citizens of a great and powerful Nation.

The whole system must outline a complete scheme of National Education from the infant to the finished graduate, with the necessary adjuncts of medical inspection, clinics, manual

training, workshops, etc. An effort will be made to adapt to Indian use the modern ideas of education, evolving the child's natural faculties, shaping the education to the needs of the child, not the child to an iron system. In view of the special and immediate necessity for industrial progress, special stress will be laid at first on the commercial, trade, and agricultural side of education, with the applications of science to industry and agriculture, but the Arts will not be forgotten, and a broad foundation will be laid on which culture may be built.

Such an education is a crying need in the country, but the Government does nothing to start or encourage it. We need some of the best brains of the country in commerce, manufactures, and applied science, and we propose to establish this education under the control of a Board of National Education, which will frame curricula, appoint examiners, conduct examinations, and issue diplomas in the different branches studied in its schools, colleges and workshops. These diplomas will become valuable if we set up a high standard and maintain it.

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